

## Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AID-01 SS-07 NEA-07 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ISO-00  
SSM-03 /022 W

-----123533 220916Z /10

O 220847Z DEC 77

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3277

INFO AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

USMISSION SINAI

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 CAIRO 22499

CODEL HOLTZMAN

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS OREP (HOLTZMAN, ELIZABETH)

SUBJECT: CODEL HOLTZMAN: MEETING WITH SADAT

SUMMARY. REP HOLTZMAN MET WITH PRESIDENT SADAT FOR FORTY-FIVE MINUTES DEC 21. SADAT WAS IN RELAXED, CONFIDENT MOOD, BUT OBVIOUSLY PREOCCUPIED WITH ONGOING EVENTS. (GEN. WEIZMAN WAS HIS NEXT SCHEDULED APPOINTMENT.)

SADAT EXPRESSED DETERMINATION CONTINUE WITH PEACE PROCESS REGARDLESS ATTITUDE OTHER ARAB STATES, SUGGESTING THEY WILL COME ALONG ONCE THEY DISCERN BROAD OUTLINES OF DEAL HE EXPECTS NEGOTIATE. IN SADAT'S VIEW, IT UP TO ISRAELIS RESPOND TO HIS INITIATIVE. U.S. ROLE STILL ESSENTIAL; IMPORTANCE WILL INCREASE AFTER SETTLEMENT.

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SAID HE HAD RECEIVED "SOME POINTS" ON BEGIN-CARTER TALKS BUT NO PLAN. PRESIDENT NOTED HIS PRIMARY GOAL IN BEGIN MEETING WILL BE TO OBTAIN A "DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES" WHICH WILL PERMIT ACCELERATION OF CAIRO CONFERENCE AND EARLY GENEVA. ISRAELIS SHOULD COME TO ISMAILIA WITH "VISION FOR THE FUTURE". HIS VISIT GAVE ISRAEL ALL CONCESSIONS IT HAD BEEN SEEKING. END SUMMARY.

1. REP HOLTZMAN MET WITH PRESIDENT SADAT FOR FORTY-FIVE MINUTES ON DEC 21 AT PRESIDENT'S REST HOUSE IN ISMAILIA. SPEAKING TO REPORTERS IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO SESSION, SADAT SAID HIS TALK WITH ISRAELI DEFENSE MINISTER WEIZMAN YESTERDAY HAD DEALT WITH BROAD OUTLINE FOR COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT. SAID HE HAD NOT GONE INTO GEOGRAPHIC DETAILS BUT OPINED GAMASY HAD COVERED THIS IN SEPARATE TALKS. QUESTIONED ABOUT READOUT ON CARTER-BEGIN CONVERSATIONS, SADAT SAID HE HAD RECEIVED "SOME POINTS"; U.S. PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY VANCE MADE "SOME OBSERVATIONS AND REMARKS." SAID HE HAD NOT RECEIVED ANY SPECIFIC PLAN. NOTED PRESIDENT CARTER TRYING NOT TO COMMENT UNTIL AFTER BEGIN VISITS EGYPT.

2. ATMOSPHERE. ASKED WHAT HAD CHANGED SINCE HIS JERUSALEM OBSERVATION THAT TIME NOT RIGHT FOR BEGIN TO VISIT EGYPT, PRESIDENT REPLIED: "EVERYTHING". SAID PEOPLES' RESPONSE TO HIS VISIT UNEXPECTED AND OVERWHELMING; NOTED THEY ARE MOVING "AHEAD OF ME". SAID CAIRO CONFERENCE PREPARATORY TO GENEVA; PARTICIPANTS SHOULD NOT GO UNLESS GROUNDWORK LAID. ASKED IF HE WOULD ACCEPT CONTINUED ISRAELI MILITARY PRESENCE ON WEST BANK, SADAT REPLIED "NO, NO, NO."

3. FOLLOWING REPORTERS DEPARTURE, REP HOLTZMAN NOTED THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SADAT'S INITIATIVE HAS RAISED GREAT EXPECTATIONS IN MINDS OF PEOPLE THROUGHOUT WORLD. IT HAS TOUCHED DEEP CORE IN AMERICAN PUBLIC. SHE NOTED PEOPLE OFTEN TALK OF PEACE AS A CLICHE, WHILE SADAT HAS MADE THIS CONCRETE POSSIBILITY IN MIDDLE EAST.

4. SADAT EXPRESSED HOPE "WE CAN HAVE PEACE HERE, NOW, ONCE AND FOR ALL. THIS CAN BE WORKED OUT." PRESIDENT CLAIMED HE HAD NOT ANTICIPATED REPERCUSSIONS HIS VISIT TO JERUSALEM WOULD HAVE. SAID HE WOULD TELL BEGIN, ON CHRISTMAS DAY, THAT ISRAELIS SHOULD HAVE "VISION FOR THE FUTURE". WITHOUT THIS, NO ACHIEVEMENT CAN BE MADE. SAID HE ACCUSTOMED TO CRITICISM FROM OTHER ARABS FOR HIS INITIATIVES. HE HAD EXPERIENCED THIS FOR ONE FULL YEAR AFTER SINAI II. HOWEVER, "NO ONE CAN TURN CLOCK BACK."

5. ISOLATION. REPEATING NOW FAMILIAR THEME, PRESIDENT OBSERVED THAT EGYPT ALONE ENCOMPASSES ONE-THIRD ARAB PEOPLE. WITH SUDAN ADDED, THIS IS TWO-THIRDS ARAB WORLD. RHETORICALLY ASKED "HOW CAN THEY ISOLATE EGYPT?" CLAIMED ALL ARAB CAPABILITY -- TEACHERS, DOCTORS AND ENGINEERS --

LOCATED IN EGYPT. SAID HE NOT WORRIED AT ALL BY CRITICISM. HOWEVER, HE WONDERED, WILL ISRAEL BE UP TO EGYPT'S STANDARD OF RESPONSIBILITY?

6. ISRAELI RESPONSE. IN RESPONSE TO REP HOLTZMAN'S QUERY ON WHETHER SIGNALS FROM ISRAEL THUS FAR HAVE BEEN EN-

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INFO OCT-01 AF-04 NEA-07 ISO-00 AID-01 SS-07 NSCE-00

SSO-00 SSM-03 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3278

INFO AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA

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CODEL HOLTZMAN

COURAGING, SADAT SAID ONLY DETAILS HAVE YET TO BE NEGOTIATED. NOTED THAT, WITH WEIZMAN, NEGOTIATORS STILL IN FIRST STAGE OF GETTING TO KNOW EACH OTHER. EGYPTIANS AND ISRAELIS HAVE NOT DISCUSSED SETTLEMENT OR FUTURE. CLAIMED, WITH HIS VISIT, ISRAELIS RECEIVED "ALL CONCESSIONS" THEY HAVE LONG SOUGHT: THEY WELCOME IN REGION AND WILL BE GIVEN COMPLETE SECURITY. REITERATED THAT IT NOW UP TO ISRAELIS.

7. NO SEPARATE AGREEMENT. ASKED WHETHER ISRAELI FLEXIBILITY COULD LEAD SADAT TO CONCLUDE PEACE ALONE, PRESI-

DENT REITERATED HE WOULD NOT HAV NEEDED GO TO JERUSALEM  
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IF GOAL WAS SEPARATE PEACE. SAID HE SEEKING COMPREHENSIVE  
SOLUTION, SINCE EGYPT HAS HISTORIC REGIONAL RESPONSI-  
BILITIES AND IS LEADER OF ARAB WORLD. REPEATED SEPARATE  
AGREEMENT WOULD NOT ESTABLIH PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST;  
WITHOUT AGREEMENT ALL PARTIES CONCERNED, THERE WILL BE  
NO PEACE. SAID ALL PARTIES ARE AGREED THAT PALESTINE  
PROBLEM IS CRUX OF ISSUE AND "WE SHOULD FIND SOLUTION FOR  
IT THIS TIME."

8. U.S. ROLE. ASKED BY REP HOLTZMAN WHAT U.S. ROLE  
SHOULD BE, SADAT RESPONDED THAT HE IS "ASTONISHED" WHEN  
IT SUGGESTED THAT U.S. ROLE DIMINISHING AS RESULT IN-  
CEPTION DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. SAID HIS INITIATIVE BEGAN  
WITH SECRET HANDWRITTEN LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CARTER,  
WHICH WAS SENT BY SPECIAL ENVOY. SAID HE WOULD REVEAL  
ONLY ONE SENTENCE FROM HIS REPLY, WHICH ALSO WAS HAND-  
WRITTEN. IN IT, SADAT WROTE "I AM THINKING OF SOME BOLD  
ACTION." EXCHANGE TRANSPIRED THREE MONTHS AGO, PRESIDENT  
NOTED, SAYING PRESIDENT CARTER COULD NOT HAVE IMAGINED  
WHAT WAS GOING TO HAPPEN. PROCESS STARTED WITH U.S. AND  
IT WILL END WITH U.S. BEGIN, ON DRAFTING NEW PEACE  
PROPOSAL, TOOK IT TO WASHINGTON. BOTH LEADERS, FOR FIRST  
TIME, HAVE CONFIDENCE IN SOMEONE AND THIS, SAID SADAT,  
IS IMPORTANT. AFTER AGREEMENT REACHED, EGYPT WILL CON-  
TINUE TO NEED U.S. HELP TO DEVELOP COUNTRY AND AMERICAN  
ROLE WILL BE EMPHASIZED RATHER THAN DIMINISHED.

9. ASSISTANCE. REP HOLTZMAN QUESTIONED WHETHER SADAT  
WILL LOOK FOR INCREASED ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AFTER SETTLE-  
MENT. HE REPLIED "FOR SURE, FOR SURE." REP HOLTZMAN  
OPINED THAT, IN POST SETTLEMENT ERA, SUPPORT WILL BE  
THERE. AMERICAN PUBLIC ADMIRES AND RESPECTS SADAT'S  
ACTIONS, DESPITE SOME INITIAL SUSPICION. AMERICAN PEOPLE,  
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WITH PEACE, WOULD WANT TO CONTRIBUTE. NOTING SHE WAS  
SPEAKING PERSONALLY, REP HOLTZMAN SAID SHE HOPED THIS  
WOULD PROVE TO BE THE CASE.  
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10. PEACE BUDGET. ASKED WHETHER PEACE WILL PERMIT EGYPT  
TO DEVOTE SIGNIFICANT PORTION DEFENSE BUDGET TO  
DEVELOPMENT, SADAT REPLIED "FOR SURE"; THIS TRUE BOTH

FOR EGYPT AND ISRAEL. EGYPT IS TODAY A "SUPERPOWER",  
WITH ONLY U.S. AND USSR HAVING LARGER STANDING ARMIES.  
IN HIS EARLIER CONVERSATION WITH WEIZMAN HE TOLD  
ISRAELI DEFENSE MINISTER THEY SHOULD ADDRESS QUESTION OF  
DISARMAMENT. NEITHER ISRAEL NOR EGYPT CAN AFFORD ARMS  
RACE. IF ONLY ONE QUARTER OF WHAT NOW BEING SPENT ON  
ARMY DEVOTED TO DEVELOPMENT, IT WOULD "TURN MY COUNTRY  
INTO A PARADISE".

13. BEGIN MEETING. SADAT SAID HE IS LOOKING FORWARD VERY  
MUCH TO MEETING BEGIN ON DEC 25. HE CONCERNED ABOUT  
REACHING AGREEMENT ON "DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES". IF  
THIS ACHIEVED, LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION AT CAIRO CONFERENCE  
CAN BE RAISED TO FOREIGN AND DEFENSE MINISTER LEVEL, THUS  
PERMITTING ADEQUATE PREPARATION FOR GENEVA. MOMENTUM  
DURING PAST MONTH TOWARDS THIS END "FANTASTIC". "EVEN  
IF NO ONE ELSE COMES, I SHALL BE PROCEEDING. AND I WILL  
PUT WHAT WE ACHIEVE BEFORE AN ARAB SUMMIT. . . WHEN ISSUE  
IS WITHDRAWAL FROM LAND OCCUPIED IN 1967, EVERYONE IS FOR  
US."

14. WEIZMAN. AS REP HOLTZMAN WAS LEAVING PRESIDENTIAL  
REST HOUSE, ISRAELI DEFENSE MINISTER WEIZMAN AND GENERAL  
GAMASY WERE ARRIVING ON EGYPTIAN AIR FORCE HELICOPTER.  
REP HOLTZMAN AND AMBASSADOR WERE ABLE SHAKE HANDS  
WITH GAMASY AND WEIZMAN BEFORE THEY WENT TO PRESIDENT'S

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CODEL HOLTZMAN

HOME.

15. ABOVE CLEARED BY CODEL IN DRAFT. EILTS

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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
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**TAGS:** OREP, (HOLTZMAN, ELIZABETH)  
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